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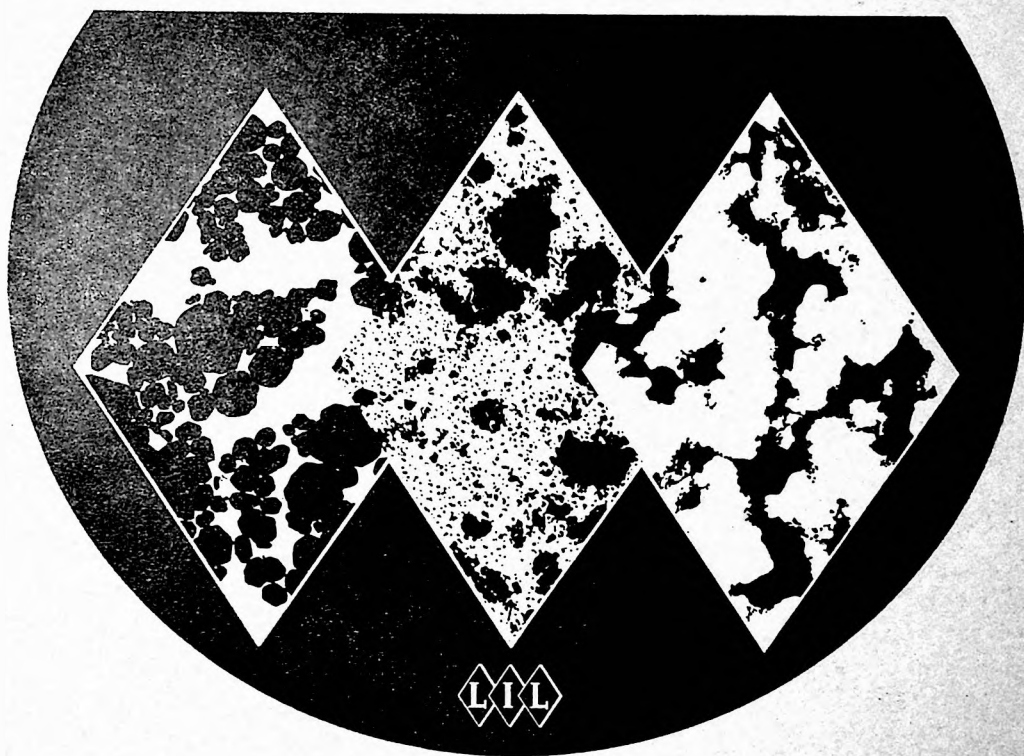
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## **Edited by Lionel March with photography by John Rawson**

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Lionel March is temporarily an advisory planning officer to the University and was responsible for the design of the exhibition "The Shape of Cambridge—A Plan". He is a research assistant to Professor Sir Leslie Martin at the School of Architecture. From January, 1963, he is to be visiting associate, under the auspices of the Commonwealth Fund, at the Joint Center of Urban Studies, Harvard and M.I.T. In the autumn of this year the Institute of Contemporary Arts, London, is to hold an exhibition of his recent studies in two-dimensional design.

John Rawson is in his final Diploma year at the School of Architecture and was responsible for the photography in the University exhibition.

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# Cambridge Opinion 30

"Accord between the planning authority and the university is as necessary as that between planning authority and the borough. The prime function of Cambridge, nationally, is that of a university town. In our view, it is best to regard the county borough and university as partners in the enterprise. It certainly seems to us true to hold that any plan in which these three are agreed will go through. The converse is also likely to be true. Major opposition by either borough or the university will postpone almost indefinitely the production of a coherent framework for the large works of development and redevelopment of the next generation. But it will not, of course, postpone the works themselves: they will go on, whether well or badly placed."<sup>1</sup> (Sir William Holford on Cambridge planning, 1950.)

"Events . . . leave the impression of a succession of plans without planning, discussions without decisions and words without end."<sup>2</sup> (P. E. P. on Oxford planning, 1960.)

In 1712, Nicholas Hawksmoor made *A Plan of Cambridge as it Ought to be Reformed*. In 1950, William Holford and Myles Wright submitted their *Cambridge Planning Proposals*. Hawksmoor's plan was, perhaps, the most visionary and architectonic plan ever proposed in this country for a provincial town. It had dignity, nobility and civility. It was surely a work of passion: it was certainly the product of great plastic invention. But Hawksmoor did not press his plan: nor had it been commissioned and there was no-one to champion it. Holford was originally engaged by the city to prepare a plan but under the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act his commission was transferred to the county, who now act as the planning authority for the city. When the 1950 proposals were published they received only partial support from the "university town"; they were,

however, championed by the county and its planning department.

This issue of *Cambridge Opinion* is in six sections:—

Section one is devoted to the broad aims and policies of the statutory Development Plan (approved 1954) and the revision (1961) which come under review at the public enquiry opening in June this year, together with a survey of the statements and opinions of the principal critics, the university, the city and others. Despite the repetitive nature of many of the statements on Cambridge planning, no study of the subject would be balanced without some survey of them.

Section two is on the population stabilisation policy and is technical, but necessary, in view of the great importance attached to limiting the size of Cambridge.

Section three investigates the use of land in Cambridge particularly in relation to residential requirements.

Section four develops a plan for which we make no apologies. It has been formed by the interaction of so many people that no one person can claim it for his own. This, we believe, is its strength.

Section five is concerned with an assessment of the practicability of the plan and suggests some ways in which it might be implemented.

Finally, there is a photographic supplement which presents some examples of historic change in the physical character of Cambridge, and a photo-survey of the city today.

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1. *Cambridge Planning Proposals* ("Holford Report"), p. 70, para. 412.

2. *Plans for Oxford's Roads*. Political and Economic Planning, No. 416.

# 1. Proposals, Aims and Policies

1.01 The principal proposals upon which the Development Plan is based are:<sup>1</sup>

"(a) To ensure that Cambridge should remain predominantly a university town.

(b) To reduce the rate at which the City is growing and to stabilise the population within the town map area at not more than about 100,000 persons.

(c) At the same time to accelerate the development of villages surrounding Cambridge to accommodate an additional population up to approximately 7,500 persons.

(d) To provide a comprehensive road system capable of satisfying traffic requirements in the city.

(e) In the rural areas of the county, to safeguard the interests of agriculture and to provide improved conditions for the agricultural population.

(f) To limit industrial expansion in and near Cambridge, and to discourage the establishment of large industries of the mass-production type within the county.

(g) To encourage the development of those larger villages which are on good lines of communication and which form suitable centres for the surrounding rural area."

1.02 These proposals, apart from those specifically concerned with county development (e, g), are inherent in the Holford Report.<sup>2</sup> The University supported the main objects of the plan—that Cambridge should remain predominantly a university town, that the rate of growth of population should be reduced, that large-scale industrial development should be discouraged;<sup>3</sup> but objected, with the City, to three detailed proposals—namely the spine relief road, the bus station, and the Lion Yard layout. At the public enquiry in 1952 Mr. Donald Bain on behalf of the City Council asked the Minister to remove all reference to these proposals from the plan and said: "We hope and believe that consultation between the City and University and planning authority can achieve a very large measure of agreement on proposals to take their place... If that can be so, there can be, in my submission, no question as to how desirable it is."

1.03 In September, 1954, the plan was approved and was not altered to meet the University's or City's objections except that the proposal for building the bus station on the present site of Bradwell's Court was not included. This approval could hardly be said to be satisfactory in Holford's terms. "We are very conscious that the only real success of a plan is success in execution, and that in Cambridge this will require the agreement and support of the county, town and university."<sup>4</sup> And since the two authorities whose objections were not met were "the town

itself, as the agency for housing and highways and social services and utilities in general, [having] by far the greater immediate responsibility in matters of the appearance and development of Cambridge" and the university and Colleges whose "lands comprise a large proportion of the borough and thus represent, in one very real sense, the dominant interest",<sup>5</sup> it is difficult to see any reason under these circumstances for retaining such a plan, except merely as a bureaucratic instrument of development control in the absence of something dynamic.

1.04 The University at this time (1952) considered that the present central area, ringed by colleges and university buildings, was inadequate for commercial expansion and recommended redeveloping the Fitzroy Street—New Square area as a shopping centre without adding to the present centre. Ample car parks and the bus station could, they thought, be incorporated in the new development. The University also expressed the view that it was of primary importance to preserve the character of Cambridge as a university town and as the principal market town in an agricultural county;<sup>6</sup> and emphasised that they had never contemplated the curtailment of the normal commercial activities of a market town such as then existed in the centre.

1.05 In the revised *Written Statement* which is being presented at the public enquiry in June of this year the County reaffirm those proposals specifically concerned with the town map area but with some additions and omissions. Thus the revised basic proposals are:<sup>7</sup>

"(a) To ensure that Cambridge should remain predominantly a university town but at the same time continue to function as the principal social, cultural and commercial centre for the surrounding region.

(b) To reduce the rate at which the city is growing and to stabilise the population within the town map area at not more than about 100,000 persons.

(d)<sup>8</sup> To provide a comprehensive road and parking system capable of satisfying traffic requirements in the City and in particular to relieve congestion in the central area by means of a relief road, off-street car parks and the control of street parking.

(f) To limit industrial expansion in and near Cambridge."

1.06 The County take the opportunity of explaining these adjustments in the report of survey.<sup>9</sup> "Adding a recognition of the second important function of Cambridge as the social, cultural and commercial centre of the surrounding region... implies no change of policy. Cambridge is traditionally a market centre as well as a university town

and both functions have developed side by side as the 'university town'. What is implied is that the university atmosphere should remain dominant and that no large-scale industrial or commercial growth should be allowed to change the emphasis, to make it simply 'a town with a university'. Improvement of facilities serving the region is, however, necessary and desirable."

1.07 The road proposals are amplified and include a recognition of parking needs, whilst the limitations on industrial expansion "is amended to clarify the planning authority's intentions and the control is also extended to apply similar restrictions to offices and other businesses unrelated to the primary functions of Cambridge."

1.08 The University in December, 1960, restated its case: first "to maintain and enhance the character of Cambridge as a university town", and second "to create in Cambridge a regional centre capable of meeting the needs not only of the city but of a wide area surrounding the city."<sup>10</sup> The wording in the first aim reflects Holford's remark, "It is now perhaps the only true 'university town' in England. The question is whether it can control its own destiny in the face of a multitude of unplanned events that will certainly tend to change it. When these changes come, and even before they take place can they be arranged to *maintain and enhance* the essential character and virtues of the town?"<sup>11</sup>

1.09 The County recognise that the regional function has achieved increasing importance in recent years, but it is in planning for this that the fundamental difference of opinion arises between the County and the University. The latter believes that the regional function is a growing one and that providing there is no conflict with the first aim then it is in the interest of both city and region to develop this function fully;<sup>12</sup> while the County hold that "deliberately to expand the shopping and commercial activities would be contrary to the principle of the plan and would be to the ultimate detriment of the university city."<sup>13</sup>

1.10 The University continues to disagree with the County over the proposed central-area relief road (the spine relief) as does the City.<sup>14</sup> The City Planning Committee rejected by the Chairman's casting vote a recommendation that the University's proposals for a commercial expansion in the City Road area be adopted, but the full Council endorsed the view that development of shopping facilities in the Fitzroy Street area should be encouraged and so relieve pressure on the city centre.<sup>15</sup> The City Labour Party published a written plan in 1961 which, whilst arrived at independently, closely followed the University's proposals for an extended centre.<sup>16</sup> And indeed one candidate in

the recent local elections wrote: "The Labour Party supports the University Development Plan. This plan envisages the historic centre kept free from further shops and traffic; the Lion Yard would be an extended civic centre, for public and leisure activities. But there is a danger that the Lion Yard will fall into the hands of commercial developers, and that the area from Fitzroy Street to East Road will be developed piecemeal. We want to see this part of Cambridge as a splendid commercial and shopping area, attracting the best modern planners and architects: this can only be done if it is developed as a whole."<sup>17</sup>

1.11 To raise the University proposals to the level of a development plan is premature; nevertheless the broad principles for a plan were contained in the statement published by the Registry of the University dated 3rd December, 1960, and known as the "December Statement".<sup>18</sup> The exhibition "The Shape of Cambridge—a Plan" mounted by the University amplifies this statement and summarises the framework of a plan.<sup>19</sup>

(a) To preserve and enhance the character of Cambridge as a university town;

(b) To reduce at the centre those uses that conflict with this basic aim, but at the same time to enable Cambridge to continue to function effectively as the centre of the region.

(c) To develop the university central sites comprehensively, retaining the relationship between teaching and research and residential accommodation.

(d) To redevelop the Lion Yard as a civic centre.

(e) to expand the commercial centre of the city eastwards to allow adequate space for regional shopping needs, car parking and road access, in order to relieve the historic centre.

(f) To provide Cambridge with an efficient road system to serve its growing needs without destroying the historic centre.

(g) To arrest the outward sprawl of low-density housing by redeveloping the inner residential districts.

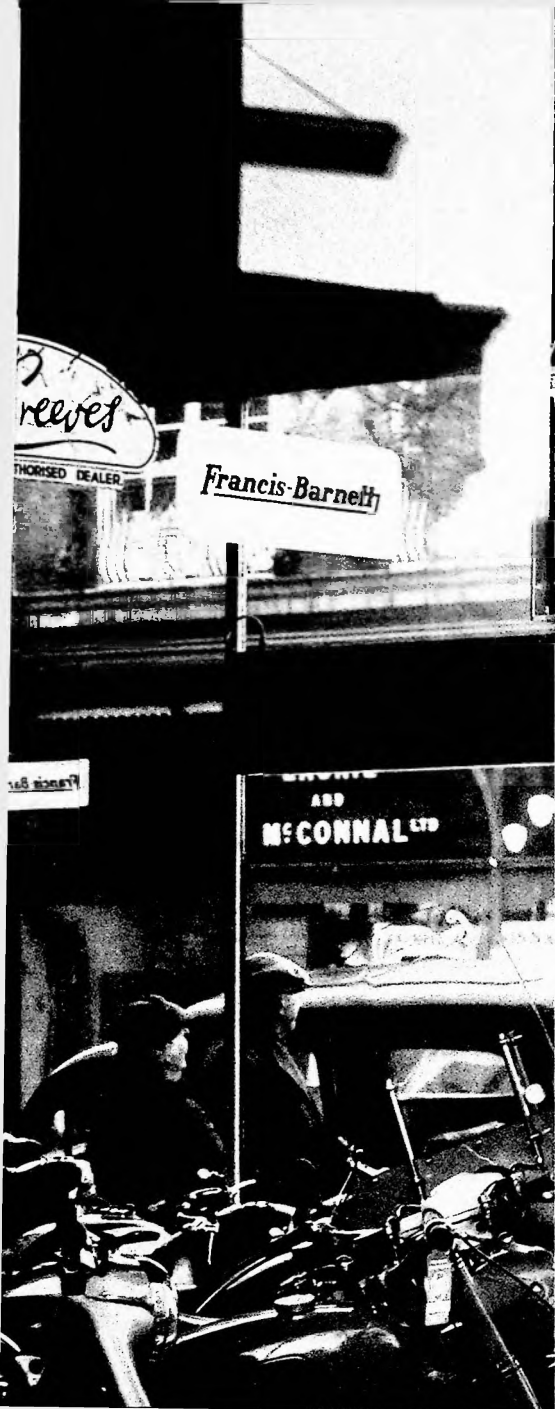
1.12 The planning authority have always referred to "basic proposals" in their Written Statements, indiscriminately mixing, it seems, aims with policies. This is unfortunate and confusing. One of the issues we shall be concerned with is that of population stabilisation, that is, that Cambridge should not grow larger than about 100,000. This we see as a *policy* decision and not as an *aim*. It is said to follow from the *aim* of ensuring that Cambridge should remain predominantly a university town. We challenge the effectiveness of such a negative policy.

1.13 Finally, we question whether built-up Cambridge is predominantly a university town in the sense implied, as we understand it, by the County Planning Officer. Our photo-survey would hardly suggest it is. On the other hand if the historic area is taken to be Cambridge then the statement begins to make sense. However, the increasing regional use of the historic centre is introducing a powerful third force into town and gown environs and we wonder what benefits a shopper from Royston or Newmarket receives from the bumpings and pushings of undergraduates in the uncomfortable and uncivil conditions of the present commercial area. And is the contact of the townspeople themselves with students, while shopping, really more important than safety, comfort and spaciousness? The only statement, that we know of, of what Cambridge townspeople feel about this is by the City Labour Party (representative, but clearly not mandatory) that it "wants to see the centre of Cambridge expanded so that there is room for all the amenities a city should have, and room for townspeople and visitors to move about, shop, eat, obtain information, listen to music, meet their friends or change their library book in an area largely freed from traffic, planned to a human scale, lively but not noisy, varied and enjoyable. The centre of Cambridge would no longer just be huddled under the shadows of the colleges, but would include a broad ring of shops and civic buildings round Christ's Pieces, which is closer to where most of the people of Cambridge live than Market Hill. There would be a fine new shopping area round Fitzroy Street, linked through a restored King Street and through Bradwells Court to the older shops in the historic area and with the redeveloped Lion Yard. No part of this expanded centre would be more than five minutes' walk from the bus station. And car parks hidden under pedestrian decks would be provided in Lion Yard and the Fitzroy Street shopping area so that motorists too could get within a few minutes' walk of wherever they wanted to go."<sup>20</sup>

1.14 We suggest that a much more fruitful plan for Cambridge could be formulated if it were accepted that, except for the historic area, Cambridge is like dozens of towns; in some respects worse, in some, perhaps, better. To perpetuate a myth about "market town" or "university town" in a situation where so much is just plain nineteenth and twentieth century standard "town" is we feel to misrepresent the situation, and to make what are common problems of urban renewal into something exceptional in the context of Cambridge. The danger of this is that a bold plan may be dismissed as being out of character with

Cambridge despite the fact that its main physical implementations would be in decaying "out-of-character" areas. The two faces of Cambridge should not be confused.

1. *Written Statement*, 1952, para. 5, p. 2.
2. *Cambridge Planning Proposals*.
3. *Cambridge University Reporter*, 6th June, 1952, pp. 1,378-81 and 3rd December, 1952, pp. 438-41.
4. *Cambridge Planning Proposals*, p. ix.
5. *Cambridge Planning Proposals*, p. 55, para. 311.
6. *Reporter*, 6th June, 1952, pp. 1,318-81.
7. *Written Statement*, 1961.
8. (c), (e) and (g), relating to the development of the county, are omitted from the revised *Written Statement*.
9. *Report*, p. 5, para. 12.
10. *Reporter*, 11th January, 1961, p. 722.
11. *Cambridge Planning Proposals*, p. vii, our italics.
12. *Reporter*, 11th January, 1961, p. 722.
13. *Civic Society Bulletin* No. 2, May 1962.
14. *Cambridge Daily News*, 4th January, 1962.
15. *Cambridge Daily News*, 21st April, 1962.
16. *Planning Cambridge*, Cambridge City Labour Party, 1961.
17. Election manifesto, Clarissa Kaldor, 1962.
18. *Cambridge University Reporter*, 11th January, 1961, pp. 722 ff.
19. Held in the Corn Exchange, Cambridge, 1st June—8th June, 1962. Also to be published in book form.
20. *Planning Cambridge*, 1961. There would seem to be little conflict between this statement and the case put forward by Alice Roughton, backed by 3,500 signatories, at the Lion Yard Inquiry, 10th November—4th December, 1959.



## 2. Population

2.01 The proposal to reduce the population growth is, we have said, a policy decision and not an aim. Holford claimed it was impossible to make a good expanding plan for Cambridge.<sup>1</sup> There are reasons to believe that within limits this is not true, and furthermore it might be suggested that, no matter how good the plan is, it will never materialise without the incentives of expansion.

2.02 "The best way to reach a decision on the optimum population for Cambridge is perhaps to list those of its qualities which most people would wish to retain or improve, and then to decide whether an increase of population is likely to harm or add to them. The list would probably run something as follows:

Full employment, coupled with diversity of opportunity for young people.

Good houses.

The university. The university and college buildings and their setting.

The central open spaces, the countryside near the town and plenty of gardens and allotments.

Short distances between homes and work, and between homes and central shops.

Good services: education, medical, shopping and entertainment.

Maintenance of Cambridge as a good centre for country residents and visitors, and of its distinctive market-town character."<sup>2</sup>

2.03 Holford does not investigate the effects of planned expansion on these qualities. He rather *assumes* that it would be detrimental:

2.04 "A large growth of population would have many drawbacks and would bring no advantage to the general body of citizens."

2.05 "We have tried to find out whether any real advantage would be gained—boom or slump—from a general growth of population, and cannot discover any which is likely to be lasting . . . soon the *status quo* would be restored, with living conditions for almost everyone a little worse than they were before."

2.06 "First and foremost a large growth would hinder the work of the university. As the pursuit of knowledge becomes more and more specialised and demands more complex buildings and equipment, it follows inevitably that social life within the University, quiet surroundings and nearness of buildings to one another become more valuable. In a bigger Cambridge these things would be hard to preserve or obtain."

2.07 "The pros and cons of a large growth in population

could be examined from a number of points of view. We think that one—that of the ordinary citizen—is sufficient for our argument. We are sure that the present size of Cambridge has many advantages for the ordinary citizen. It is small enough to retain most of the advantages of a small town and big enough to provide a full range of amenities and services. One can cycle home to a mid-day meal, the countryside is still very near, and nearly all the dwellings have gardens. Cambridge suburbs are no better than those of other towns but none is very big; the river, the commons or the countryside can be reached in a few minutes from any of them. These may be part of the natural order of things in Cambridge, but to most town dwellers of Britain they would be luxuries. A big growth<sup>3</sup> of population would diminish or abolish them. The inner districts would have to be redeveloped with bigger, more crowded, buildings or the countryside pushed back by several square miles of new suburbs—the latter being the most probable. Allotments would be at a premium, the central open spaces crowded, and three to four miles between home and work would jeopardise a return home for a mid-day meal. In other towns loss of small-town assets has been offset to some extent by acquiring those of a big town—educational and medical services and facilities for recreation. But Cambridge has these big-town assets already—a public indoor swimming pool being almost the only missing amenity. A slightly bigger range of jobs would seem to be the only gain from a bigger population which the ordinary citizen would have to set against many losses."<sup>4</sup>

2.08 Largely on these grounds an ultimate ceiling for the borough of 100,000 was proposed<sup>5</sup> and accepted by the authorities. The University agreed but "felt some apprehension about any rigid limitation of the size of the city and about possible effects of any detailed controls which might become necessary."<sup>6</sup> It has been suggested elsewhere that journalistic and advertising methods were used to publicise the plan, and certainly these methods are very apparent in setting the idea of a population limit: "expansion would 'force up the demand for floor space in the city centre (which is hemmed in by a tight ring of colleges), and thus force up the height of shop and office blocks till they overtopped the University and college buildings. It would compel the widening of the centre's narrow streets and the destruction of their intimate charm." And further, "if another 21,000 people were added to its population it would be necessary to let the city sprawl over another couple of square miles of countryside, to build

over its open spaces, or to deprive half its families of usable gardens."<sup>8</sup>

2.09 Of course, if as Derek Senior implies, the only alternatives are unplanned expansion, or planned stabilisation, the latter policy is right, the former wrong, and "there are many clear and cogent reasons why this should be so."<sup>9</sup> In this context references to the unhappy expansion of Oxford were, and remain, emotionally effective. Its relevance to the Cambridge situation, however, is not as an example of expansion, *per se*, but of the dangers of not having a plan.

2.10 There are other factors which were important in determining the stabilisation policy. The Barlow Report<sup>10</sup> had analysed the drift of population to South-East England to the impoverishment of the rest of the country. It would have been "nationally undesirable"<sup>11</sup> for Cambridge to have expanded its employment attractions. The estimate of population growth in Great Britain indicated stability followed by decline and it must have been easier for the consultants to have conceived of an ultimate ceiling for Cambridge in these circumstances.<sup>12</sup> Most of the development in Cambridge was expected to be undertaken by the local authorities and a large population expansion would have overstrained resources and unduly emphasised housing at the expense of the central area improvements and the road programme.<sup>13</sup>

2.11 "The Development Plan is based on the assumption that the population of the County will increase to the extent shown in the following table."<sup>14</sup>

	1948	At the end of the first 20 years of the plan period
Town map area	80,340	100,000
Rural districts	78,360	87,400
	164,700	187,400

2.12 In 1961 the population of the County was 189,913.<sup>15</sup> That suggests that the population of the region is increasing at more than twice the rate planned for and that the "basic assumption" is no longer valid.

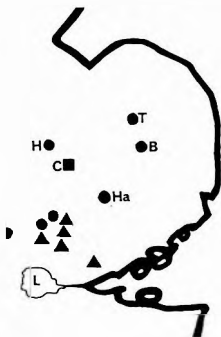
2.13 The population of the town map area has on the other hand been effectively controlled. The baby boom had by 1958 upset Grebiniuk's projection<sup>16</sup> of the city's natural increase by over 100% or some 1,650 more inhabitants than planned for. And by 1971 the accumulated error may be 425% and an additional 5,700 people.<sup>17</sup> Against this natural increase, which was certainly not

expected, but is not high<sup>18</sup> compared with other towns of its size, Cambridge can now offset its unattractiveness to the migrant population. Between 1951 and 1959 the net increase due to migration was only 620 persons<sup>17</sup> and of this at least 1,057<sup>19</sup> can be accounted for by the university increase in undergraduates and research students. That is, excepting the university, there was a net migration out of Cambridge of some 500 people or probably more in the eight years up to 1958. This is certainly a credit to the County's policy. Meanwhile the satellite villages around Cambridge had increased by some 3,500 people<sup>17</sup> of whom perhaps 550<sup>20</sup> were due to natural increase, leaving 2,950 due to migration. It is significant that some of these people probably migrated from Cambridge. Whether this is a large proportion is important. It was not the plan's expressed purpose to expand the villages with overspill from Cambridge.

2.14 We have said that the population increase of the County has been considerable. The re-population of the rural areas is in every way to be encouraged. The gap between the peak rural population in the 1860's, when there was a short-lived boom in coprolite digging as well as railway construction, and today has now been closed. But if we take the maximum aggregate population of the villages outside the present municipal borough of Cambridge we find that in the period 1801 to 1948 the rural districts held at one time or another a population of 100,750.<sup>21</sup> And at the present rate of increase that will be exceeded by 1971—not that some of the decaying villages will have been revitalised, although an increasing number of cottages in isolated areas will undoubtedly be required for vacation purposes, particularly in the north-east of the county near the Isle of Ely, the true Fens and Thetford Chase, but that the favoured villages on good lines of communication will continue to expand.

2.15 Cambridge is in the centre of the most rapidly growing region in the country. The *Preliminary Report* of the 1961 Census shows an increase in population of 18.8% from 1951 to 1961 in the Eastern Region, that is nearly half a million people. Many of these people are now living in new towns and expanded towns as part of the planned overspill programme for London. It is significant that Thetford (82 miles from London), Bury St. Edmunds (75), Haverhill (56) and Huntingdon (62) are London expanded towns: Cambridge (54) clearly is now very much within the zone of London overspill developments. Recently the conclusions of the Barlow Report have been seriously challenged and it has been suggested that the economic

(and social?) advantages of expansion in the Metropolitan Region are indisputable.<sup>22</sup> At the same time the concept of overspill has been re-examined and held to be sound; indeed, it is maintained that overspill is a social force that cannot be halted and that the problem is to steer it to those places which can provide the superior living conditions



which people want without the disadvantages of a long journey to work and the accompanying urban sprawl and central area congestion.<sup>23</sup>

2.16 The population of England and Wales has not steadied itself as was predicted in 1950: rather has it increased, between 1951 and 1961, by 2,314,000, which is more than in any previous ten-year inter-census period since 1901—11. There seems to be no reason to suppose now that the population will steady itself in this century, let alone decline.

2.17 The restrictions in population will not much longer retard Cambridge from becoming a city of 100,000 persons at which time its claim for County Borough status will be difficult for the Government to reject. It seems to us that the autonomy this would bring the city would leave the county impoverished in most matters, with Soham (population 4,865) as the largest town. The region we define as Metropolitan Cambridge (paragraph 4.01) is, we suggest, the right and proper physical and administrative unit for planning. Unfortunately shortage of space has not enabled us to discuss a metropolitan plan. Nevertheless the plan for the city has been conceived within this wider structure. In any event such metropolitan planning would

require much needed local government reforms which the present Government, intent on breaking the L.C.C., for instance, would not sponsor.

2.18 We shall challenge the population stabilisation policy in Cambridge with the national and regional background in mind, but before we can begin to test a planned expansionist policy for the city it is necessary to assess whether a planned increase in population could be accommodated within the existing boundaries and on land allocated in the present plan for residential purposes. It is then a further question whether such land is suitably located in the plan. Other land requirements will arise out of such a growth, for schools, playing fields and so on, and these must also be assessed.

1. *Cambridge Planning Proposals*, para. 272, p. 48.

2. *Ibid.* para. 275, p. 48.

3. See 3.08 and footnote.

4. *Cambridge Planning Proposals*, paras. 277-80.

5. *Ibid.* para. 281, p. 50.

6. *Reporter*, 6th June, 1952, p. 1,378, para. 4.

7. *The Cambridge Review*, 20th October, 1956: "A Guide to Mr. Senior", by J. F. Q. Switzer, p. 47.

8. *A Guide to the Cambridge Plan*, by Derek Senior. Cambridgeshire County Planning Department, 1956, pp. 8, 11.

9. *Ibid.* p. 8.

10. Royal Commission on the Distribution of the Industrial Population, *Report*, Cmd. 6,153, H.M.S.O. 1940.

11. *Cambridge Planning Proposals*, para. 282, p. 50.

12. *The Planner's Notebook*, by Myles Wright, London, 1948, p. 241.

13. The Holford proposals were written at a time of severe building controls.

14. *Written Statement*, 1952, p. 3, para. 6.

15. Census 1961: Preliminary Report, H.M.S.O., 1961, p. 15.

16. *The Population of Cambridgeshire*, C.C.C. County Development Plan Survey Report (first draft), 1951, p. 29.

17. Present and projected changes are taken from *Report*, p. 20, table 2.

18. *British Towns*, by C. A. Moser and Wolf Scott, Centre for Urban Studies, Report No. 2, Oliver and Boyd, Appendix B.

19. From information supplied by the Registry and based on the annual University Grants Committee's Returns. From this we should deduct students whose homes are in Cambridge, but these would be more than offset by the increase in teaching staff and members of their and student families not included in the university count. For convenience a figure of 1,120 might therefore be taken as a fair migratory increase due to University expansion.

20. Assuming a similar natural change rate for these as for the city.

21. *A History of the County of Cambridge*, Vol. 2, Oxford University Press, 1948. Table of Population, 1801—1931, p. 138 ff.

22. *Housing Needs and Planning Policy*, by J. B. Cullingworth, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961, p. 114, commenting on Powell's report on "The recent development of Greater London".

23. *Ibid.* p. 200.





### 3. Land Use

3.01 In 1950 there were "1,500 acres of land available for development—that is land not at present developed with buildings and likely to be so developed if normal inducements operate."<sup>1</sup> The changes in land use since then and as expected in the plan revision<sup>2</sup> are shown below:

<i>Area of land in acres</i>	<i>1949</i>	<i>1959</i>	<i>1971</i>
1. Residential use	2,876	3,334	3,785
2. Industry	122	156	228
3. Education	261	369	436
4. University and colleges	551	641	989
5. Open spaces	1,092	1,006	1,234
6. Other uses	1,195	1,321	1,263
7. Agriculture	5,148	4,418	3,310
Total area of town map	11,245	11,245	11,245

The most noticeable increase—909 acres—is the area devoted to residential use (including local shopping areas). The next largest gain is in university and college use of 438 acres, although it is not at all clear what the university is supposed to do with the 348 acres allocated to it between 1959 and 1971 or where it is located. The major loss is in agricultural land and nursery gardens, a total of 1,838 acres.

3.02 The net residential area<sup>3</sup> planned for is 3,769.8 acres and this is expected to accommodate a household population of 85,930 persons by 1971. The density per acre is 22.8.<sup>4</sup> In planning their "ideal" new town of 100,000, Hook, the L.C.C. Architect's Department adopted a figure of 58 persons per acre<sup>5</sup> net over 2,018 acres of land. Holford recommended 40 persons per acre<sup>6</sup> for the new estates and 75–50 persons per acre<sup>7</sup> in the inner residential areas when they were redeveloped. And it is interesting that the Reith Committee's suggested 25 persons per acre in New Towns proved to be too open<sup>8</sup> and draughty and that 35–40 persons per acre net is the generally accepted density in these towns today.

3.03 458 acres of land has been used for residential purposes since 1949 when Holford made his survey. If this had been developed at an average density of 40 persons per acre, 18,320 persons could have been accommodated in the ten-year period to 1959. Or, in terms of houses, rather more than twice the actual number of houses built on the sites. As it is the planning authority now proposes with the approval of the Minister to build 1,600 dwellings on the Arbury Road North site, which Holford suggested for such use only "if this proves necessary".<sup>9</sup> The present "necessity" is seen to be the result of wasteful land use and bad housing layout, which in parts has created a suburban

desert as bleak as anything to be seen in "industrial" Oxford.

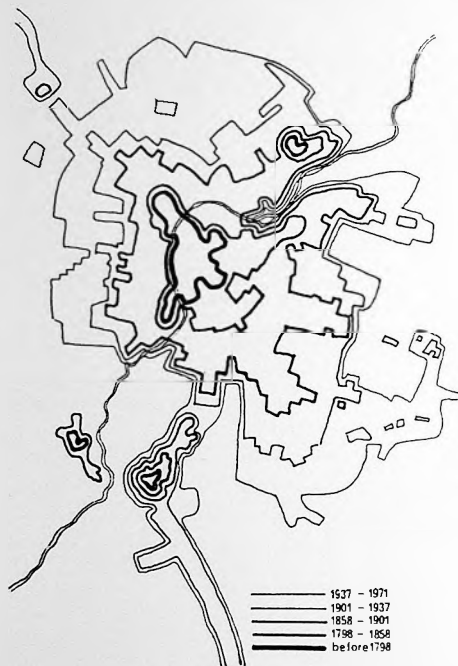
3.04 There is no evidence to show that higher densities are being aimed at. In fact this planned squandering of land is to continue so that the already low net residential density of 24 persons per acre is to be reduced still further to 22.8.<sup>10</sup>

3.05 Theoretically, the land allocated is more than enough to house the balance of the population to 100,000. This is understood at the City Borough Surveyor's Department where the inner residential areas are becoming a source of embarrassment as they near redevelopment and it appears that "the capacity of the older residential districts, when redeveloped, [had not been] taken into account before further expansion [was] allowed."<sup>11</sup> Consequently the city may well be faced with either increasing its population above 100,000 in order to develop at densities appropriate and in character with these areas, or with allowing these "profitable"<sup>12</sup> sites to be developed uneconomically at low densities, perhaps with semi-detached houses, or with reducing the land available for residential purposes by using some of it for car parks.<sup>13</sup> 58.5 acres are scheduled for car parking and other building uses in the inner residential areas by 1971, an increase of 16.4 acres over existing use.<sup>14</sup> And these same areas will, if the revisions are accepted, house 7,186 fewer inhabitants in 1971 than they did in 1949<sup>15</sup>, which is a decrease greater by 1,500 than that suggested by Holford.<sup>16</sup>

3.06 We conclude, here, that the land zoned for residential use could in theory accommodate, if developed at the reasonable and characteristic densities of 40 persons per acre for outer, 70 persons per acre for inner and 100 persons per acre for central areas, some 160,000 persons, or nearly twice the present household population. The italics in the table are the revised development plan proposals for 1971.<sup>17</sup>

<i>area</i>	<i>acreage</i>	<i>household population</i>	<i>average net density (persons per acre)</i>
central	10.3	1,030	100.0
		340	33.0
inner	404.0	24,941	70.0
		15,830	39.1
outer	3,355.5	136,140	40.0
		69,760	20.7
total	3,769.8	162,111	43.0
		85,930	22.8

Such a theoretical exercise does not, of course, allow land for all the other uses which a larger population would require: this would be something less than the land used for residential purposes. The figures do, however, give a top limit which can be lowered by progressive consideration of relevant factors. For instance, it is feasible to envisage



the redevelopment over the next generation or so of the inner residential areas, which were mostly built before 1900, but not of the more recent outer areas, built up as they are of comparatively "hard" housing."

3.07 One can arrive at a more realistic figure for the population potential by assuming that the land now allocated for new developments, mostly peripheral, would be de-

veloped at 40 persons per acre, and that the inner residential areas would be redeveloped at 70 persons per acre. This gives a household population of nearly 115,000 which together with the university population and others gives a total town population of some 130,000.

3.08 There are some 2,600 acres allocated in the development plan for uses other than primarily residential and agricultural within the town map area. Approximately 500 acres of these are for university and college use.<sup>19</sup> The remaining 2,100 acres would seem theoretically sufficient for a population (excluding the university) of 115,000 people.<sup>20</sup> However, compared with land use in a hypothetical town there is rather less land specifically provided for industry, as we might expect in view of both the plan's policy on industry and the general character of Cambridge. Cambridge is not an industrial town,<sup>21</sup> and there seems no strong reason why manufacturing industries should be encouraged. On the other hand it is known that research and development industries are keen to come to Cambridge for very good reasons. These are unlikely to require much land, being mainly intensive. Cambridge is already an exceptional centre for professional services<sup>22</sup> which need not make large demands on land. If the population increase is accompanied by expansion of employment opportunities in these fields, with only limited expansion in manufacturing, then there would appear to be sufficient land already allocated to accommodate it.

3.09 "One cannot make a good expanding plan for Cambridge. If, however, the citizens of Cambridge decide that they are out for quality—to make the best possible town of 100,000 or even 125,000 and then stop—then we think there is every hope of making Cambridge something very fine, not only in the centre but in its suburbs, in East Road and along its approaches."<sup>23</sup>

3.10 "We have suggested that an attempt should be made to keep the population of Urban Cambridge to a level that will retain the general advantages of a medium-sized town and the special advantages of Cambridge, and that future development should be compact and not sprawling."<sup>24</sup>

3.11 The plan proposed in the following pages in no way conflicts with the spirit of Holford's remarks made twelve years ago. We believe that the pathetic, often damaging developments controlled but not inspired by the plan since 1954 are a direct result of the negative stabilisation policy. Only an expanding city will attract the heavy investments needed for far-sighted improvements: and no developer, no public development corporation, no government, no retailers, industrialists, public transport organisers will see

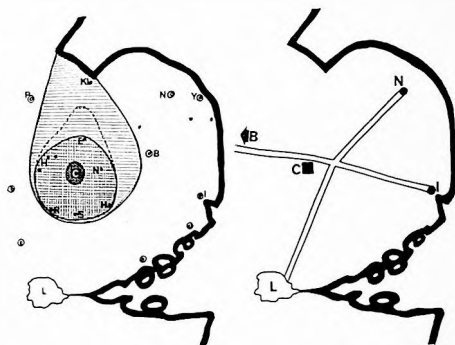
it worth their while to invest imaginatively and generously in the future of a city which people are leaving and in which the intent of the planning authority is to frustrate potential growth, not only of population, but commerce, business and industry. To build should be the planner's purpose: and to do so he ought no longer wait for "unplanned events" to arrive, but must court those which "can be arranged to enhance and maintain the essential character and virtues of the town."<sup>25</sup>

1. *Cambridge Planning Proposals*, p. 53, para. 301, and Map 31.
2. *Report*, p. 87, Table 11.
3. Net residential area includes houses and their curtilages, access roads and small open spaces and half the width of the boundary roads up to a maximum of 20 ft.
4. *Report*, p. 89, Table 13.
5. *The Planning of a New Town*, London County Council, 1961.
6. *Cambridge Planning Proposals*, p. 39, para. 222.
7. *Ibid*, para. 224.
8. *Report of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government*, H.M.S.O. 1961, p. 87.
9. *Cambridge Planning Proposals*, p. 53, para. 300.
10. *Report*, p. 89, Table 13.
11. *Cambridge Planning Proposals*, p. 38, para. 214.
12. *Ibid*, p. 37, para. 213.
13. There is considerable concern among city councillors over the use of central restricted sites for car parking. The Saxon Street area is a recent example (*C.D.N.*, Saturday, April 21st, 1962). Park Street, King Street, Pound Hill and New Town are other examples: not to speak of the considerable devaluation of amenity in New Square.
14. *Report*, p. 89, Table 13. To mix these uses, car-parking and other buildings, is either muddled planning or issue-fogging.
15. *Report*, p. 22, Table 3.
16. *Cambridge Planning Proposals*, p. 82, Table 14.
17. *Report*, p. 89, Table 13.
18. Some "infilling" might occur in existing estates, but this would not be easy.
19. *Report*, p. 88, Table 12.
20. "The Impact of Urban Development on the Use of Land and Other Resources", by P. A. Stone. *Journal of the Town Planning Institute*, May 1961.
21. *British Towns*, Appendix B.
22. Only the London suburbs, Carshalton, Coulsdon and Purley, Epsom and Ewell have a higher percentage of the employed population in professional service. *Ibid*.
23. *Cambridge Planning Proposals*, p. viii. Elsewhere, para. 272, Holford writes, "A plan can be prepared for a population rising to about 100,000 in the Borough (120,000 to 125,000 in urban Cambridge)". His intentions are ambiguous, particularly so since "if the population is going to grow much more than this—to say 175,000 or 200,000 in urban Cambridge—quite a different plan would be needed, involving big changes." The margin between this order of expansion and the present plan proposals is something like 50,000 and we wonder where in this margin a significant change could occur, and where a quite different plan would be needed.
24. *Ibid*, p. 72, para. 426.
25. *Cambridge Planning Proposals*, p. vii. The recently published development plan for the Lion Yard and the interest shown by City Centres (Clare and Cotton) in adjoining property demonstrates this principle at work, but in our opinion, in the wrong place and in contradiction to Holford's recommendations. From the speculator's point of view, of course, the cramped central area must inflate the value of the sites and property. If a more intensive use can be made of this land—there seems general agreement that it *could*—then development there would be very worthwhile, financially. The community, however, stands to gain very little from this.



# 4. The Plan

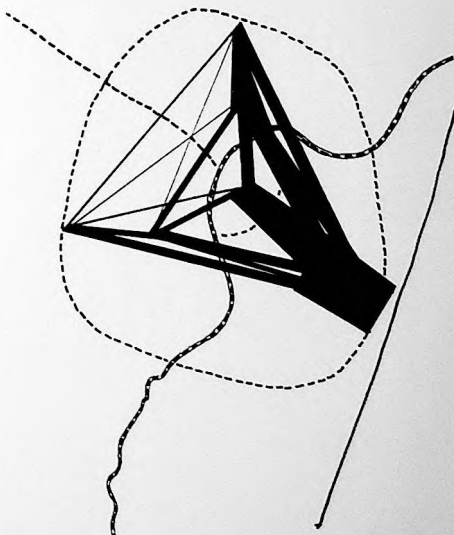
4.01 Cambridge is in the London overspill zone; and the impact of the expected construction of the Ipswich-Birmingham and London Norwich motorways, and the electrification of the railway from London is difficult to assess, but not to guess. The area for which Cambridge is the natural service centre for retail trade extends



beyond Huntingdon, Royston, Newmarket and Ely. This area has already a population of 300,000 people. By the year 2000, it could contain 400,000 or more people, looking to Cambridge as the metropolitan centre. The present County Plan policy of distributing industries throughout the County seems sound. However, the industries have been planted in villages to give employment in them and to encourage their renewal; but with rising car ownership workers will travel about the area, choosing the work they want. Thus this policy is a potential traffic generator. All these pressures must not be allowed to destroy Cambridge, which must continue to be the strong centre of a diffuse region.

4.02 Cambridge needs an arterial road system that has the capacity demanded in the future, and which will canalise and concentrate the traffic. A few really good roads would seem preferable to a more diffuse system. An analysis of the desire lines of present traffic movements strongly suggests a new road to the east of the historic area in the city, and the possible location of the new inter-regional motorways reinforces this. The new road should be of urban motorway standard, with few access points and multi-level junctions, so that there can be a smooth, fast

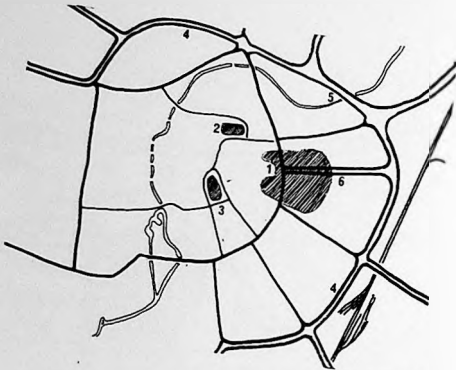
and safe flow. To continue to plan roads today which are multi-purpose, mixing cyclists, pedestrians, cars, lorries and so on, seems not only short-sighted but irresponsible. Properly designed motorways considerably reduce the number of road-deaths. Also the number of vehicles a motorway can carry per hour is very much greater than



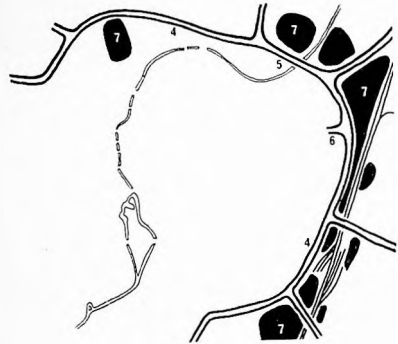
an all-purpose road. Distance for the motorist is less important than time, safety and easy flow. This loop road (4,4) follows a line first suggested by Holford and is now strongly advocated by the university. It would attract and concentrate most of the present through traffic—roughly 20% of the traffic in the town. It is well-positioned for the industrial area, (7) which is not served by any adequate

road system at present. It would go through mainly obsolete 19th-century property or run parallel with the railway. Motorways encourage redevelopment in the areas through which they pass, and this motorway's strong pull to the east will undoubtedly encourage the expansion of commerce and business in that direction. Where the

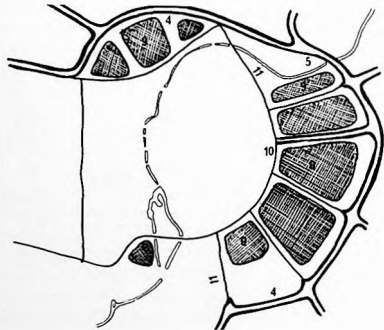
does not form a further barrier in Cambridge, but follows the already-existing barriers, of the railway and the Cam. And, finally, it defines inside it the compact pre-20th century areas which are within walking distance of the centre, and so would be a powerful form-giver to the Cambridge of the future.



motorway crosses the railway sidings between Hills Road and Mill Road it would certainly be raised. It might well continue at this level until it crossed the river, and the space underneath it be used for warehousing, car-parking associated with the industrial area, and so on. The loop road



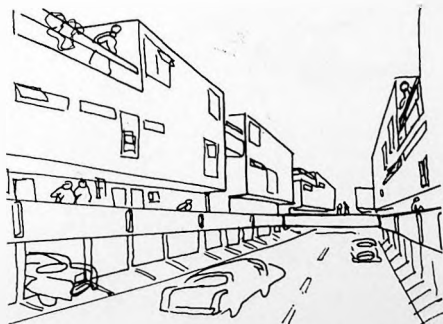
4.03 The eastern loop road becomes the main distribution road for the town. It picks up all the radials from the suburbs (districts more than 15 minutes from the centre) and the main regional roads. Inside the loop each inner residential area could be treated as a superblock (g), with



roads around it, but not crossing it. There would be cul-de-sacs with garaging built in to the housing, with segregated pedestrian ways (p) above, which could be overhung by the dwellings on the top two floors. This would give both covered—and therefore reasonably protected—access galleries and large private open spaces (G).

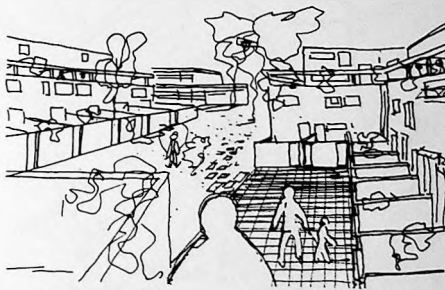


By linking the access galleries it might be possible to afford protected circulation not only between dwellings, but also to schools, local shops and public transport stops. The streets could have a characteristic urban compactness, whilst the garden sides, which would be the front of the

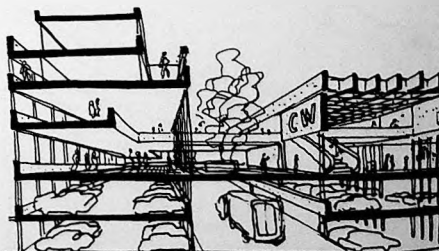


houses, would open on to a green walk (P) into town containing primary schools, corner shops, light industry, play spaces and so on. This kind of amenity value is only possible at reasonably high densities of between 70 and 135 persons per acre.

4.04 The superblock radial roads would lead to a limited-

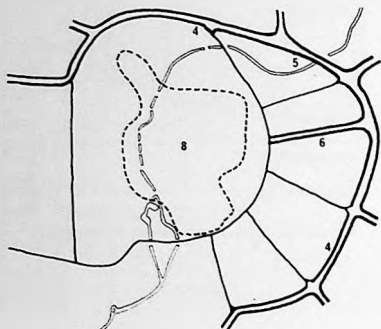


speed inner loop road (11, 11) running from Lensfield Road to Gonville Place, to the East Road corner and across the City Road area, where it would be integrated into the new regional centre, and thence across Midsummer Common on a realigned Victoria Avenue route. This line skirts





the historic area (8). It does away with the need for Emmanuel Road and opens up the possibility of joining Christ's Pieces to a regressed New Square. By planning the superblocks carefully it would be possible to concentrate pedestrian movement into a few points before crossing this inner loop.



4.05 To take an example of what might be done. A new terrace could be built along Parkside which could absorb into itself buildings of historic interest. But if this terrace were built on the present road a new road could be built behind the terrace and in this way access to the terrace would be by foot across Parker's Piece or by car from behind. At the same time the system of raised pedestrian ways would segregate pedestrians and traffic, and bridge across the traffic route. Certainly such a key residential site overlooking Parker's Piece should not be used for police and fire stations as is proposed. They would not be in the centre of the town from a population point of view nor would they enjoy the fast access that the new road system would provide.

4.06 From these inner residential areas people could walk across the commons, Parker's Piece and Jesus Pieces to a pedestrian historic centre. To achieve this reversion to foot use it is necessary to accept the idea of roads open to motor traffic only. These roads would be flow roads, for essential traffic, with stopping only at parking and unloading bays. Such roads do not, by their nature, have shops, offices or dwellings opening on to them and there is no reason for parking except on business. There are very

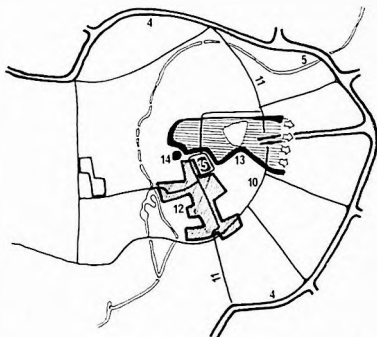
few places where such roads could be constructed or existing roads converted. The keys to the internal traffic circulation are the Lion Yard and New Museums sites.

4.07 From the south, Tennis Court Road provides a ready-made relief to Trumpington Street which could be closed to traffic from Lensfield Road. The cars would then pass through a traffic canal in the New Museums site in a position which would hardly change Denys Lasdun's proposed site plan, before turning eastwards behind Petty Cury to act as service road to the shops on the south side. From Downing Street it would be one-way for north bound traffic. The southbound traffic would move behind the G.P.O. and Robert Sayle's, and St. Andrew's Street would be relieved of all traffic and become pedestrian. These traffic canals would be adequate at 20'-24' wide, and would allow vehicles to park off the street to left or right without crossing streams of oncoming traffic. The road would continue south along Downing Place. To the north the road would be two-way, still non-pedestrian, down Hobson Street, which could be widened once Marks and Spencer's, Woolworth's and Sainsbury's moved to more adequate premises in the City Road area. In this way Sidney Street would be freed of traffic, and could perhaps be narrowed to replace the loss in floor space in the Hobson Street block. The road would finally link up with the inner loop by running at the back of a redeveloped King Street which would form a gently curving terrace of some 300 houses over pubs, small shops and so on, facing south over Christ's Pieces.

4.08 The triangle formed by this traffic canal and the inner loop constitutes the main circulatory system in the historic area and enables most of the historic streets and shopping streets to be freed for pedestrian use. It would be the route of the central area bus circuit. The central area traffic canal is constructed in redevelopment areas. This is important. To grasp the opportunity of redirecting traffic by integrating roads into new developments and obtaining properly engineered segregation seems to be fundamental to all old-town renewal programmes. To build a road which simply reinforces a treacherous multi-purpose system established in the middle ages, as the present proposals for the Lion Yard do, is short-sighted and quite incompatible with the declared intention to create a predominantly pedestrian precinct. Servicing to buildings off the canal would be by a series of cul-de-sacs.

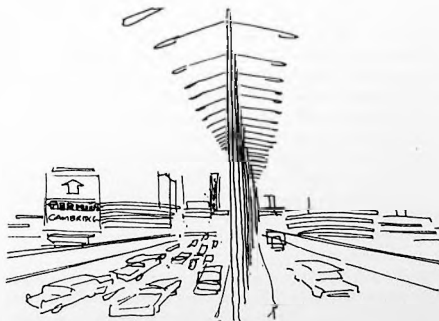
4.09 The University has proposed a central university area (12), which stretches from the New Museums site to the Lensfield Road buildings, and a central commercial area

(13) extending round Christ's Pieces from the historic centre to the City Road area, the two bound together in the Lion Yard by a civic university cultural and recreational development (15). In all the three developments the University have suggested multi-level development with segregated pedestrian movement on decks above car

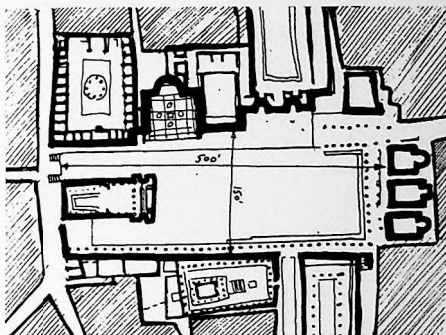


parks or laboratories, and there seems to be a very real, exceptional and exciting possibility of creating a continuous pedestrian system in the city.

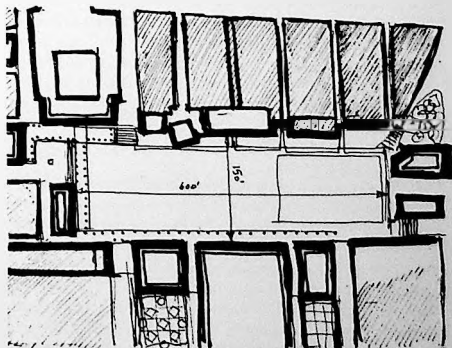
4.10 A visitor to Cambridge arriving from the south along the viaduct of the loop road, which follows a natural ridge,



would have a panoramic view of the city before turning down the spur road to the bus and car terminal under the regional centre which would function like the Auto-riemessa at Venice. He would emerge into a shopping area which, if it approached American standards for such development, would include gardens, play spaces and



fountains. Unharassed by traffic, he would walk into town, over the central traffic canal, into a space not unlike the forum at Pompeii, surrounded by exhibition galleries, a conference hall, the assize courts, society and club rooms, a new front to the Guildhall, extensions to historic buildings





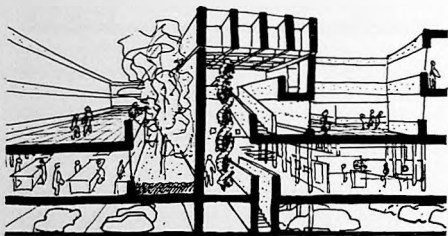
such as Fisher House and the Lion Hotel, and coffee bars, with the four yards that lead off Petty Cury providing something of a *casbah* effect. From there he might walk south along the museums the University propose on their rebuilt sites. These could also display running exhibitions of current discoveries and developments. When the

the Great, facing Christ's. From a new square in front of Emmanuel one could walk to the riverside development planned to replace the University Press. Further south there could be a link from City Road to a possible new square in front of the Fitzwilliam Museum. Queens' Road might become a parkway with a 12 m.p.h. speed limit,



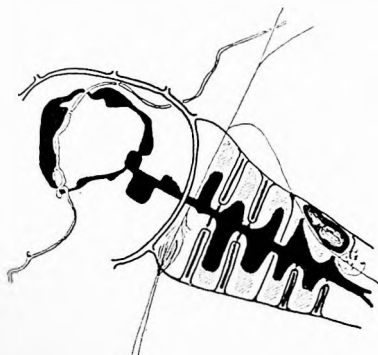
and with the co-operation of the colleges a comprehensive landscaping of the Backs could allow people to follow the river round—as far as Jesus Green. Cycleways would be interwoven with the pedestrian system.

4.12 An efficient public transport system needs to be plan-



Panton Street area is rebuilt, the pedestrian system could be extended to reach the Botanic Gardens.

4.11 Another chain of pedestrian spaces could curve from Jesus Green to a new Cam pedestrian bridge between King's and Queens'. Various fine spaces open off this route, and there could be a new piazza round St. Andrew



ned for. The first suburban area to be redeveloped will be Romsey Town, a 19th-century railway district, and here there is an opportunity of developing a linear suburb bounded by roads, with a broad pedestrian boulevard replacing Mill Road, along which would run an efficient public transport system using tramway or monorail.



No one would need to walk more than 4 minutes to this along either the covered galleries or green walks. The boulevard would terminate at one end in Parker's Piece and Christ's Pieces and at the other in footpaths leading over the Gog Magog Hills. Nearby, the existing quarries could, when exhausted, become a series of sailing lakes.

4.13 The wedge between the new commercial and university areas could be Cambridge's sports centre. Parker's Piece, the swimming pool and Fenner's might be joined on the old County gaol site by a new stadium for combined university and city use.

4.14 The present historic centre has many shabby buildings and disgraceful backyards. Each block should have a comprehensive plan, but if the character is to remain and the historic buildings to retain their context, developments should be in terms of narrow vertical facades. Multiple stores are incompatible with this; on the other hand smaller specialist shops are not. Pedestrians and traffic could be segregated horizontally. Service yards and roads built in the centres of the blocks could relieve the existing streets of all motor traffic, whilst inside the blocks residential courts could be built above the shops. The removal of big units to the City Road area would release the



space for rear access and service, as well as the possible setback of shop windows to give covered shopping arcades. The horizontal effect of jutting canopies would destroy the mediaeval character of these streets.

# 5. Practical Possibilities

5.01 We have not had the opportunities to meet people and owners who would be affected by the planning suggestions made here. When we have said "could" we only know that physically such proposals are possible, and that over the next twenty or thirty years redevelopment in some form or other will take place. The purpose of a plan is to co-ordinate these piecemeal developments to gain something which could be considerably more than the mere sum of parts.

5.02 We have shown that if Cambridge is to rebuild its inner residential areas economically the population will have to expand. We suggest a figure of between 130,000 and 140,000 should be aimed at over a thirty-year period. Clore and Cotton would not be thinking of rebuilding in the cramped historic area with a market increase like this to tempt them elsewhere. A really fine civic and cultural centre can be contemplated in an expanding town. There are enough altruistic donors in the country to contemplate the financing of such projects once the citizens of Cambridge made it known that that was what they wanted. Cambridge has not built a cathedral (Coventry), nor a theatre (Chichester): it could build a public forum equal to none.

5.03 The building of the loop road which would replace both the present trunk routes of the A.10 and A.45, together with the A.604, would be largely financed by the Ministry of Transport, who will in any event be spending large sums in the district. Further, the viaduct would unite the many builders' yards, warehouses and so on under one roof, and this could ensure a rate return on land which normally renders none. Similarly, the construction of decked car parking, which is financially possible in central areas where land values are high, again ensures a rate return from the buildings above, as well as hiding an unsightly desert of steel and chrome.

5.04 Regional centres, like urban motorways, are known to be generators of residential development and to have considerable upgrading effects. We think that town planning, if it is to show any physical achievements, must make use of such dynamic developments to sponsor the less profitable.

5.05 The removal of the multiples to the new commercial area will prove extremely profitable to them and the city. American experience shows this conclusively. The capital cost of such a removal would shortly be offset by far improved running costs and increased sales. Further their removal from the historic area would make possible a release of land to provide adequate servicing and traffic

segregation, a lowering of rateable values there, and therefore the easier redevelopment by numerous owners of their property in a manner compatible with the character of the centre.

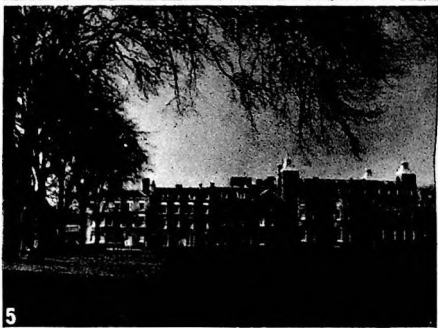
5.06 The University will in any case build: it is growing more aware that land may be used more efficiently and amenities gained by comprehensive architectural planning. We do not doubt that the city would also find similar advantages in its own developments.

5.07 The type of inner residential development we have suggested has already been achieved in part by the City Council in the East Road development by David Wynn Roberts. There the houses have covered galleries and private walled gardens. The Ministry of Housing specification that all new houses should be built with garages on the Road Research Station assumption that soon on average every household will own a car (a three to four-fold increase of traffic over present numbers) will make the development we suggest possible.

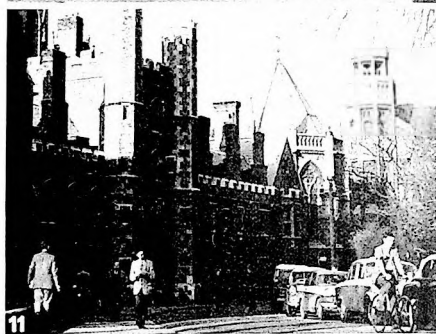
5.08 There will be no difficulty in attracting further industry. To be able to select industries is an advantage few towns enjoy. Industrial and research estates in America contribute very much to the environment, integrating landscaping and architecture. One site which would be ideal for such development is the Brooklands Avenue Government offices site, which is grossly under-used. New offices including new Government ones could be built near the station, the car and bus terminal and the loop viaduct. We have illustrated two tall office blocks at the end of the boulevard to form a gateway into Cambridge from the suburb. The tourist industry, being largely in the out-of-term periods, might be encouraged to grow, to give a more balanced economy to the town. The new civic hall could be designed to accommodate a fully equipped conference hall to hold at least 2,500 delegates. Conferences would be extremely profitable business for the city, as might a Cambridge Festival, with the facilities we have suggested.

5.09 The proposal to expand Cambridge would undoubtedly be welcomed by the Government and the L.C.C. who are faced with the gargantuan task of overspill from the London area. The resources, financial and otherwise, of the L.C.C. might well be used to redevelop the other face of Cambridge which few of us care to know.

# Photo-survey: Central Areas



*The location of each photograph is indicated on the map at the end of the supplement.*

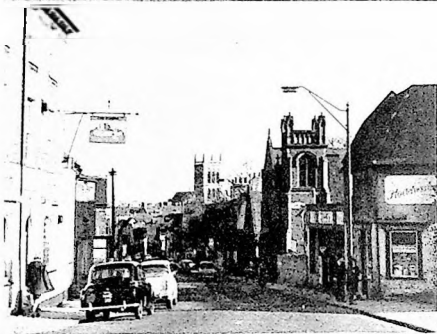


# Photo-survey: Inner Areas





*The location of each photograph is indicated on the map at the end of the supplement*



# Photo-survey: Outer Areas



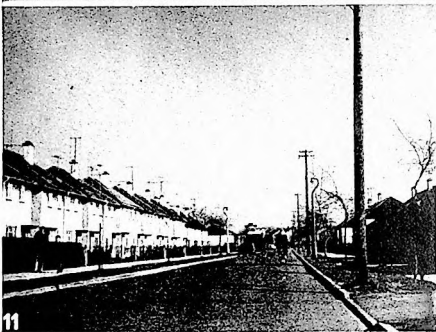
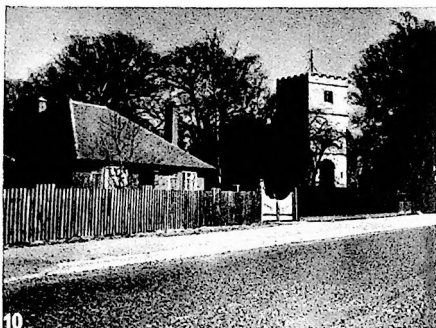
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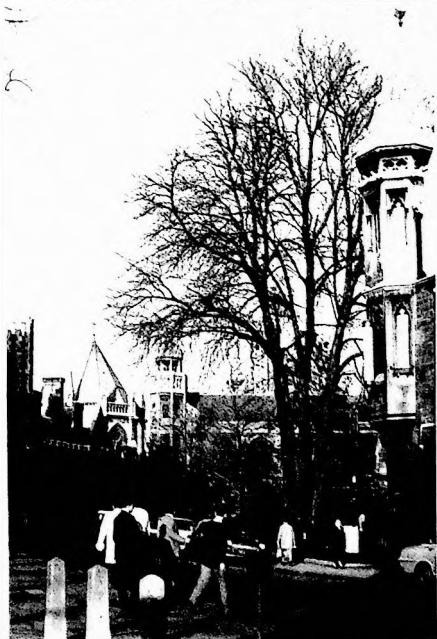
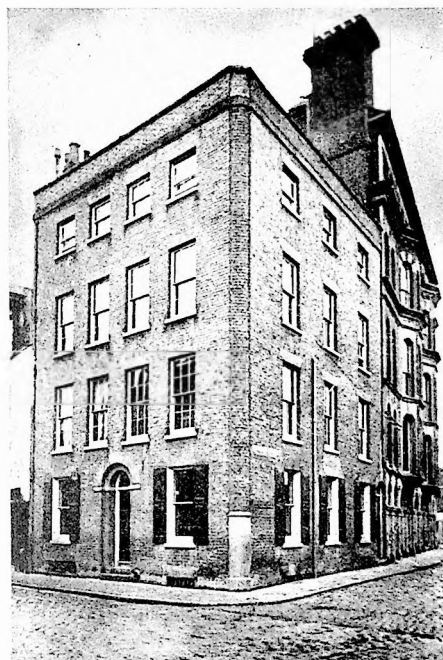


# Photo-survey: Peripheral Areas



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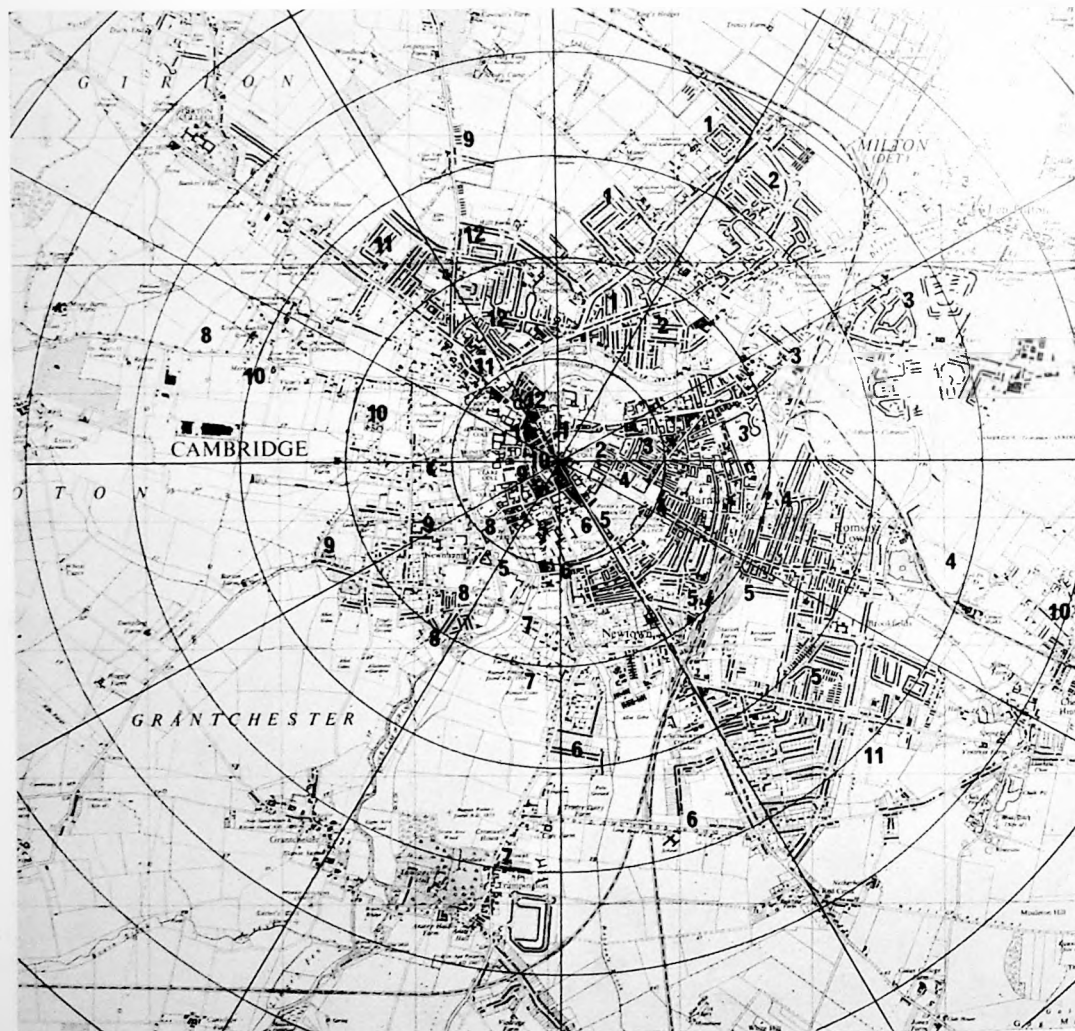
# Historical Change

The location of each photograph is indicated on the map at the end of the supplement.





## Photo-survey: Location Map



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The photographic survey was made by selecting typical views in each of the twelve sectors in four rings at half-mile intervals from the centre. It shows as fair a view of Cambridge as we could devise. It is significant that only one college appears in the selection. University and college buildings do not, in fact, dominate built-up Cambridge. They do dominate, of course, the Cambridge we wish to know.

The historical sequence shows views of well-known sites today and yesterday and is designed to demonstrate the ever-changing character of an old town.

- |                                       |   |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| A. House in Hobson St.<br>c.1880.     | Lloyd's Bank.                                 |
| B. All Saints' Church,<br>c.1860.     | All Saints' Passage and<br>St. John's Chapel. |
| C. Shop in Bridge St.<br>c.1890.      | Garage and Service Station.                   |
| D. Cottages in Trinity St.<br>c.1870. | Divinity Schools.                             |
| E. The Spinning House,<br>c.1880.     | Police Station.                               |

We thank Graham Pollard for his kind assistance in helping us select the old photographs from the Cambridge Antiquarian Society collection.

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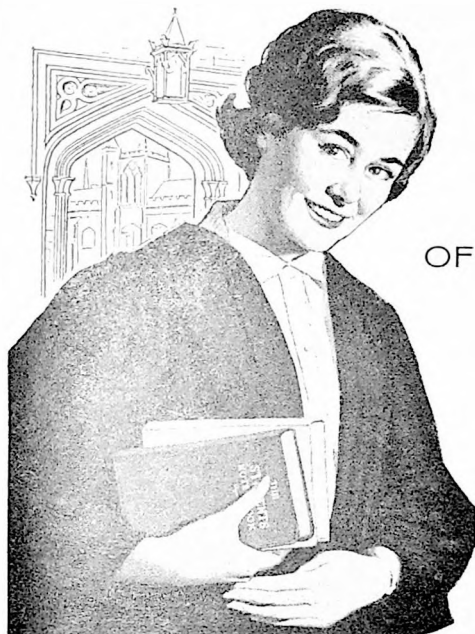
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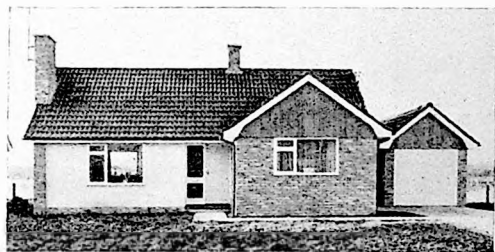


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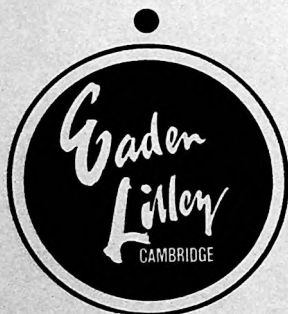
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